Districts that are poor in game naturally become wholly or partly deserted in time, while others continue to support a considerable population. Generally speaking the tendency of the natives is to keep to the districts in which they were brought up, where every lake and hill, every favourite haunt of fish and caribou, is familiar to them. If an Eskimo migrates to another district he invariably tries to associate himself at first with one of its older inhabitants who can guide him about the country. When our expedition was leaving this region in the summer of 1916, arrangements were made with a trustworthy native named Ikpakhuak to take charge of our station in Bernard harbour till other white men should arrive a month or two later. Ikpakhuak at first was rather unwilling, for his real home was across the strait and the new district was unfamiliar to him; he was not acquainted, he said, with the places in which to find fish and game, and he feared that he might have difficulty in providing food for his family.

The Eskimos, like ourselves, have that indefinable feeling of home in the country they have known since childhood. Some of the natives who wandered in the summer of 1915 over southwest Victoria island had been absent for two or three years in Coronation gulf. Travelling with them I was greatly touched [33] by the joy with which they would recognize each prominent lake and hill, and call up memories of earlier days with which these landmarks were associated. One of their kinsmen had died in that region; they wept as they passed near his grave, and some of them, after the day's fishing was over, went back to visit it, and spent the night there in mourning.

However shifting and changing then the groups may be, a man will be bound to one more closely than to any of the rest, and will usually call himself a member of that group, though he may be living at the time in another far remote. But the longer he remains in his new home the weaker grow the ties that bind him to the old, till finally he merges in the group with which he is living and calls himself by its name. Thus a woman who had spent all her earlier life in the country behind Stapylton bay migrated with her parents to Nennitak, at the east end of Coronation gulf. There after some years she married, and though later she wandered all over the mainland between that place and Stapylton bay, she called herself a Nennitak woman, because most of her kinsfolk lived in that direction and the associations of her first home had become less dear to her. Her husband again was brought up in Walliak, but he spent his youth and early manhood in Kilusiktok, where he became one of the most famous shamans in the country. He was living during the three summers from 1914 to 1916 in the basin of the Coppermine river close to his boyhood home, but he called himself a native of Kilusiktok, and was regarded as such by the rest of his people. It is certainly not true to say of the Copper Eskimos, what Boas remarks of the Eskimos of Hudson bay, that 'almost without exception the old man returns to the country of his youth, and consequently by far the greater part of the old people live in their native districts.' (1) Yet

"1. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 466."

it may have been true in earlier times, since there is reason to believe that the floating character of the Copper Eskimo groups has been greatly accentuated in recent years."

1: Jenness--246-248 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 166.

"The inhospitable character of the region of Queen Maud's sea, and the discovery that the Ekaluktok river flows, not into Albert Edward bay, but into Wellington bay, throws a new light on Mr. Stefansson's trade route from Prince Albert sound to the Akilinnik river. We know that the Kanghiryuak natives go inland from Prince Albert sound about the beginning of June, and that the Ekaluktok natives must also be taking to the land at the same time. The Kanghiryuak natives whom I met in 1915 said that the two groups meet in the interior of the island near the head of a river, which must either be the Kagloryuak or some similar river flowing into Prince Albert sound, or else the [247] Ekaluktok river flowing southeast. This meeting can hardly take place, therefore, before the middle of June. Now at this season, in a normal year, the snow is fast leaving the ground, the rivers are breaking out, and the lakes are becoming surrounded with a margin of water. Travelling by sled, especially with an Eskimo sled shod with frozen mud, grows more and more difficult every day. It is very improbable then that the Kanghiryuak natives travel any farther by sled until the fall. Even if they did push down to the coast, as Mr. Stefansson supposed(1), and reach the mouth of the Ekaluktok river in Wellington bay, they would find the natives either

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"1. G.S.C., Museum Bulletin, No. 6, 1914, p. 6."

already inland, or else caching their stocks of blubber on the shore before going into the interior of the island to fish and hunt, not, under ordinary circumstances at least, preparing to cross the strait to the mainland. We must assume therefore that the Kanghiryuarmiut cache their sleds in the interior (as the Puivlirmiut did in the summer of 1915), spend the summer hunting and fishing in the neighbourhood, recover their sleds in the fall, and, travelling down to Wellington bay, become merged for the winter with the Ekaluktomiut on Dease strait. Theoretically, of course, they might cross over to the mainland as soon as the sea was frozen solidly over (in November), and either make their way west to Bathurst inlet, or east to the Ellice river or to Ogden bay; then during the dark days of winter they might push on south to the Akilinnik and return to the coast in the spring. Such a course might appeal to the European explorer, equipped with a light steel-shod sled and a high-powered hunting rifle, and anxious to make the journey as quickly as possible. But to the Eskimo time is of no value; his hunting weapon is the bow and arrow, and his cumbersome sled with its heavy mud shoeing is little adapted to inland travel over the soft snow of early winter. Moreover, owing to the scarcity of game and fuel along the Arctic coast at this season of the year, after the caribou have migrated south (very few seals are obtainable before the new year), the Copper Eskimo is compelled to lay in a stock of provisions to last him over Christmas at least, while for fuel he utilizes the blubber that he has cached on the

coast the previous spring. Hence a long journey at this season of the year, when the daylight does not last more than five hours, with a sled loaded down with provisions and blubber, is not practicable. The Bathurst inlet natives who travel to the Akilinnik in the fall of the year and return to the coast in the spring take their sleds and stocks of blubber with them inland the previous spring, and have their journey half completed before the summer overtakes them. It is not unlikely indeed that they reach the Akilinnik, or one of its tributaries in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen lake, before Christmas, perhaps even before the dark days set in, when travelling, with its concomitant fishing and hunting, becomes more difficult.

We must suppose, therefore, that the migrating Kanghiryuarmiut remain with the Ekaluktomiut during the early winter. They could lay in a store of dried and frozen meat and fish during the summer and fall, but for blubber they would have to rely on the supplies that were cached by the Ekaluktomiut during the spring. This factor alone would be sufficient to limit the number of migrating natives to two or three families. Towards spring, when the Ekaluktomiut visit their western neighbours, the usual reshuffling of groups would occur, and some Kanghiryuak and Ekaluktok natives might join the Bathurst inlet people and travel southward. Again they would cache their sleds inland when the snow melted, and either pack across to the Akilinnik in the summer, returning with the first snows, or else make the journey by sled in the early

winter and return the following spring. They could then rejoin the Ekaluktomiut before the latter abandoned their sealing on the ice, travel with them up the Ekaluktok river in the late spring, and join their countrymen from Prince Albert sound in the interior of Victoria island about the middle or end of June, exactly two years after they had left them. [248]

It will be noticed that I have stressed the route by way of Bathurst inlet. The accounts of the Bathurst inlet natives themselves, and the information obtained by Captain Bernard, indicate that the Eskimos of southeast Victoria island maintain closer contact with their neighbours to the west than with any of the tribes to the east of them. This is indeed what we should expect from their geographical position, and from the greater resources and population of the region west of Kent peninsula. Kent peninsula itself, as far as we know, was uninhabited until the last year or two, the Asiagmiut who visited the Bathurst inlet people travelling behind it by way of Melville sound."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 172

"There is little doubt that there was a continuous chain of habitations prior to say 1830, all the way east along the coast from Langton Bay to Coronation Gulf, and from the character of the archaeological remains, we are inclined to think that these people resembled in culture those of the Baillie Islands more than they did those of Coronation Gulf. However, there seems to have been a feeling at the Baillie Islands that the people east of Langton Bay were not their people, while those of Langton Bay were, and when the changing trade conditions and other reasons broke the continuity of habitation along the coast (about 1840), most of the people of Langton Bay moved west to the Baillie Islands, while some of Langton Bay and apparently all east of them, moved east towards Coronation Gulf if indeed they were not exterminated by some famine consequent upon an untoward season. There were evidently permanent villages as far east, at least, as the mouth of Crocker River, and clearly bowhead whaling was one of the chief occupations. Even beyond Crocker River closer investigation is likely to show the existence of permanent earth and wood dwellings."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 221

"Formerly the people whom we call Baillie Islanders had a permanent village on one of the Baillie Islands which they called Avvak. Since the whaling ships began to come in and winter in this vicinity, the dwelling site was removed to a sandspit on the mainland of Cape Bathurst, called Utkalluk. In the autumn both the people of Cape Bathurst east of Liverpool Bay, Nuvorak, and other places west of it, used to go to the head of the Bay in the fall for the caribou hunt and used to spend the early part of the winter there fishing; but apparently the entire population moved out to one of the promontories for sealing purposes about the middle of winter. East of the Baillie Islands were several villages between that and Langton Bay, which was known as Nuvuayuk from the sandspit on which the village was located, and behind which whaling ships have wintered in recent years."

2: Stefansson--33 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 166

"This knowledge of place names to the west of Cape Bexley [JMR: i. e., to Cape Lyon] indicates that the Cape Bexley people [JMR: i. e., the Akuliakattagmiut and the Hanerag-miut] are familiar with a stretch of country about two hundred miles to the west of them. To the south, they as a tribe do not seem to be in the habit of going even as far as Dismal Lake. A few members of the tribe do go to Dismal Lake and beyond, but they apparently always do so by a circuitous route, going east into Coronation Gulf and joining one of the local tribes there such as the Kogluktogmiut and accompanying them to Dismal Lake and Great Bear Lake. We found that one family, at least, of the Akuliakattag-miut had been as far east as Tree River."

2: Stefansson--34 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 484

"East beyond Tree River the knowledge of the Akuliakattagmiut is exceedingly vague, although they had heard of Umingmuktok (on Kent Peninsula). Like every other tribe, they knew of the Akilinik River. In fact, it seems that the Akilinik River is perhaps the most widely known locality of all places familiar to the Eskimo. In the Mackenzie district there are many tales of the Akilinik and so there are said to be in Greenland. Of course, it is not susceptible of absolute proof that the Akilinik of the stories can be invariably translated to mean the Akilinik River that flows into Chesterfield Inlet, for in the Mackenzie District and probably in Greenland, the people have no idea in which direction from them the Akilinik lies, but seeing that the district of the Akilinik draws to it today visitors from a thousand miles west and from great distances in all other directions, it seems that it may always have been as it is now, the greatest gathering center from a geographic point of view of the whole Eskimo race."

2: Stefansson--39 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166

"It is not very many years, however, since some parties of the Kanhiryuarmiut must have spent a part of the summer in Banks Island. We did not learn this from them, however.

The Eskimo, Ilavinirk, who worked for our party was one of four Eskimo who some years ago purchased the schooner 'Penelope'. They owned her and sailed her for many years and on one of their voyages they anchored off Cape Kellett on the southwest corner of Banks Island and went ashore to hunt. In more than one place on the land they found recent traces of Eskimo occupation, such as bones of animals that had been eaten and the remains of fires where cooking had been done. According to our present knowledge, we infer that these people must have been members of either the Kanhiryuarmiut or Kanghiryuatjiagmiut."

11: Stefansson--264 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 574

"The Eskimo visit about a great deal, and although it is always possible for any to say, 'This is the village of such and such a people,' still you are almost sure to find in any village members of one or more other tribes and generally of several. These visits are sometimes temporary, but commonly a family leaves its own tribe and joins another to be with it a period of a year, returning home at the end of that time, although sometimes the visit is only for a summer. A man who is in need of a new sled or a new bow, but whose own tribe hunts in a woodless country, may, for instance, join for the summer hunt a group that intends to go south to Bear Lake, in order to supply himself with the wood he needs."

13: Jenness--83 (1914-1916) 1917 Copper Eskimo
116, 166

"These groups [AW: i. e. the tribal sub-groups] are permanent, but the families who compose them continually change from one to another, so that the location of a man at any particular time is uncertain. As a rule it is to a neighboring group that he attaches himself for a season or two, but occasionally to one more remote. Contact takes place between the different groups mainly in the spring, and it is then that their composition undergoes a change."